

Message Text

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44

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 INR-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00

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R 270907Z OCT 73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 309
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINSEUR
AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 8870

LIMDIS - MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY TO NATO DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH FOREIGN
MINISTRY

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT BY ALLIES
SPOKESMAN.

BEGIN SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 26 AD HOC GROUP REVIEWD TEXT OF
STATEMENT TO BE USED BY ALLIES DPOKESMAN (DUTCH REP QUARLES)
IN HIS OCTOBER 31 PRESS CONFERENCE. TEXT INCLUDING MINOR CHANGES
MADE BY AD HOC GROUP FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY.
BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT PRESS STATMENT BY AMBASSADOR QUARLES
(FOLLOWING THE OPENING CEREMONIES)

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1. THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN

CENTRAL EUROPE BEGAN FORMALLY YESTERDAY. WE ARE PLEASED THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEGUN, AND BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE GOT OFF TO A GOOD START.

2. BEFORE COMMENTING FURTHER ON THE OPENING SESSIONS, LET ME REMIND YOU OF THE BACKGROUND OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY RESULT FROM AN INITIATIVE OF THE WESTERN ALLIES, WHO HAVE LONG ADVOCATED MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO MODERATE THE CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IN JUNE 1968, THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS CALLED ON THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO JOIN IN NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE USSR DID NOT AT THAT TIME RESPOND, AND THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE WORSENEED QUICKLY THROUGH DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN AUGUST 1968. THE WEST PERSISTED, HOWEVER, IN EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, AND IN THEIR ROME DECLARATION OF MAY 1970, NATO MINISTERS CALLED FOR EXPLORATORY TALKS. FOLLOWING INDICATIONS OF INCREASING SOVIET INTEREST IN THE SPRING OF 1971, THE NATO ALLIES OFFERED TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO MOSCOW AND OTHER WARSAW PACT CAPITALS TO EXPLORE THE SUBJECT. THE EXPLORER WAS NEVER RECEIVED. BUT THE PERSISTENT EFFORTS OF ALL THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN PURSUING THIS OBJECTIVE ULTIMATELY RESULTED IN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO TAKE PART IN MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS ON FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE PREPARATORY TALKS WERE HELD IN VIENNA FROM JANUARY 31 UNTIL JUNE 28 OF THIS YEAR. THEY RESULTED IN AGREEMENT TO BEGIN THE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON OCTOBER 30, AND CERTAIN PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE SETTLED.

3. LET ME REVIEW FOR YOU WHAT THE MAIN PROCEDURAL POINTS WERE:

A. REPRESENTATIVES OF 19 STATES ARE PARTICIPATING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE: BELGIUM, BULGARIA, CANADA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, DENMARK, THE GDR, THE FRG, GREECE, HUNGARY, ITALY, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, POLAND, ROMANIA, TURKEY, THE USSR, THE UK, AND THE US.

B. DECISIONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TAKEN BY CONSENSUS AMONG THE FOLLOWING: BELGIUM, CANADA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR, THE FRG, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, POLAND, THE USSR, THE UK, AND THE US. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THESE ARE COUNTRIES WITH FORCES OR TERRITORY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THEY ARE DEFINED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER ADOPTED BY THE PREPARATORY TALKS AS CONFIDENTIAL

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"POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS RELATED TO CENTRAL EUROPE." AGREED PROCEDURES EXIST WHEREBY THE NUMBER OF DECISION-MAKING PARTICIPANTS COULD BE EXPANDED.

C. THE REMAINING STATES ARE PARTICIPATING WITH A SPECIAL STATUS. IN THE VIEW OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, THE FUTURE STATUS OF HUNGARY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED. DURING THE PREPARATORY TALKS, THE EAST ACKNOWLEDGED THE RIGHT OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO

RAISE FOR NEGOTIATION AND DECISION THE QUESTION OF HOW
AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WILL BE INCLUDED IN FUTURE DECISION,
AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES.

D. MEETINGS WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL, AND OPEN ONLY TO THE
PARTICIPANTS. THEY WILL BE CHAIRED IN ROTATION, FROM MEETING
TO MEETING, BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DECISION-MAKING PARTICIPANTS
IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

E. ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK AND CIRCULATE
PAPERS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER

F. THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ARE ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN
AND RUSSION.

4. AT THE CLOSE OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS, THE PARTICIPANTS
ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCING THE DECISION TO BEGIN
NEGOTIATIONS HERE IN VIENNA ON OCTOBER 30. IT IS WORTHWHILE
TO RECALL SEVERAL OTHER POINTS OF AGREEMENT RECORDED IN THAT
COMMUNIQUE:

A. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WAS
DEFINED AS THE "MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND
ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE." THIS ADMITTEDLY
SOMEWHAT LENGTHY FORMULA WAS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE FORMULATION
"MBFR", WHICH THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE TO USE
BOTH ON GROUNDS OF ITS FAMILIARITY AND CONVENIENCE AND BECAUSE
IT ACCURATELY REFLECTS THEIR VIEWPOINT AND THE EASTERN FORMULATION.
THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN THE AGREED FORMULA ARE THAT REDUCTIONS
WILL BE MUTUAL, FOCUSSED ON CENTRAL EUROPE, AND ACCOMPANIED
BY "ASSOCIATED MEASURES," THE SO-CALLED CONSTRAINTS.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 INR-10 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DRC-01 RSC-01 /060 W

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R 270907Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 310

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR
AMEMBASSY ANKARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 8870

LIMDIS - MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

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MINISTRY

FROM US REP MBFR

B. THE COMMUNIQUE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AN AGENDA FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. NO AGENDA WAS AGREED AT THAT TIME. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WILL PLACE OUR MAIN RELIANCE ON THE AGREEMENT -- WHICH WAS INCORPORATED INTO THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE -- THE "ANY TOPIC RELEVANT TO THE SUBJECT MATTER MAY BE INTRODUCED FOR NEGOTIATION BY ANY OF THOSE STATES WHICH WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISION." WE REGARD THIS AS GIVING US THE FREEDOM TO RAISE ANYTHING WE WISH DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

C. THE COMMUNIQUE DEFINED THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS "A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP" AND "THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE." I REGARD THESE AS BASIC CRITERIA.

D. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO REGISTERS THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY.

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5. NOW LET ME TURN TO THE OPENING OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. OUR FIRST SESSION OPENED WITH A GRACIOUS WELCOMING SPEECH BY THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, DR. KIRSCHLAEGER. IN REPLY, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST PLENARY, AMBASSADOR BEHREND, EXPRESSED APPRECIATION ON BEHALF OF ALL 19 DELEGATIONS FOR THE HOSPITALITY OF THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AND THANKS FOR ITS GENEROUS ASSISTANCE IN PROVIDING APPROPRIATE FACILITIES FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE REMAINDER OF THIS SESSION, AND SUBSEQUENT PLENARY SESSIONS, WERE TAKEN UP WITH THE PRESENTATION OF NATIONAL OPENING STATEMENTS. THESE STATEMENTS WERE OF A GENERAL, PROGRAMMATIC NATURE. I BELIEVE THE TEXTS HAVE BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU.

7. I SHOULD LIKE TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THE CONTENTS OF THESE STATEMENTS. THE WESTERN STATEMENTS REPRESENT, OF COURSE, THE VIEWS OF THE INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. IN THEIR GENERAL LINES, HOWEVER, THEY REFLECT THE COMMON VIEW OF THE NATO ALLIES TAKING PART IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

8. LET ME TRY TO PULL TOGETHER FOR YOU THE MORE SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF THIS COMMON ALLIES VIEW, ITS MAIN THEMES AS REFLECTED IN THE INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS:

A. NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE ARE A NATO INITIATIVE. THEY RESULT FROM A PROPOSAL FIRST MADE BY ALLIES GOVERNMENTS AT REYKJAVIK IN JUNE 1968.

B. THESE NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE IN A CLIMATE OF IMPROVING EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

C. THEY ARE AT THE SAME TIME A CRITICAL TEST OF WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES ARE NOW READY TO TAKE CONCRETE STEPS TO MODERATE THE EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THUS, THEY ARE A VALID TEST OF THE GENUINENESS OF DETENTE IN EUROPE.

D. THE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS ON THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS CENTRAL EUROPE. THAT IS WHERE THE CONCENTRATION OF MILITARY FORCES IS GREATEST.

E. THE PURPOSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS TO ACHIEVE A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHILE MAINTAINING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES.

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F. OUR ULTIMATE GOAL IS A COMMON CEILING ON THE GROUND PERSONNEL OF EACH SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITIES. IN VIEW OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, WE DO NOT EXPECT THIS GOAL TO BE REALIZED IN ONE NEGOTIATION PHASE THUS, WE INTEND INITIALLY TO FOCUS ON REDUCTIONS OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES, LEADING TOWARD OUR ULTIMATE GOAL.

G. TO MAINTAIN UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, A REDUCTION AGREEMENT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT MAJOR DISPARITIES FAVORING THE WARSAW PACT IN GEOGRAPHY, MANPOWER AND CHARACTER OF OPPOSING FORCES.

H. TO MAINTAIN UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND TO ENHANCE STABILITY, OTHER MEASURES BESIDES REDUCTIONS WILL BE NEEDED. THESE INCLUDE MEASURES TO ENHANCE STABILITY, MINISH THE RISK OF MISCALCULATION AND THE FEAR OF SURPRISE ATTACK, VERIFY REDUCTIONS, AND GUARD AGAINST CIRCUMVENTION.

I. NOTHING WE AGREE UPON WITH RESPECT TO CENTRAL EUROPE SHOULD LEAD TO A REDUCTION OF SECURITY IN OTHER AREAS, NOR PREJUDICE THE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

J. WE RECOGNIZE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, BUT ARE CONFIDENT THAT AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE.

END TEXT

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